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The context of public administration from a neo-institutionalist point of view:

An analysis with Finland as the case

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The aims of the chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to deliver a neo-institutionalist analysis with due attention paid to the context of public administration. The empirical topic is Finland's public administration (for an outline see Figure 1). Hall and Taylor (1996) have distinguished three species of neo-institutionalism made up of the 'rational choice', 'historical' and 'sociological' species, and Peters has added first four and next five further species (Peters 2005, 2011). Each of the three inventories includes 'sociological institutionalism', which this chapter represents in one of its numerous sub-species. That sub-species bears no name proper, but it distinguishes itself as what Vogel (2012) calls a 'visible college' revealed by bibliometrics with keen mutual referencing of published scholarly works by the 'college' members. The central figure of the 'college' is John W. Meyer of Stanford University, one of the very founders of present-day neo-institutionalism with a now-classical article (Meyer & Rowan 1977), and many of the other members comprise his previous students and close colleagues. It is the author's choice that the chapter does not build upon any

other sub-species of ‘sociological institutionalism’ nor any other neo-institutionalist species of merit, such as those Peters (2005, 2010) names ‘normative institutionalism’ (for instance, James G. March and Johan P. Olsen) and ‘historical institutionalism’ (for instance, Paul Pierson, Wolfgang Streeck and Kathleen Thelen).

The article seeks answers to four research questions, which, keenly intertwined, derive from the neo-institutionalism the article applies:

1. What is the micro-institutionalization of Finland’s public administration like?
2. How does Finland’s public administration bear institutional ‘agency’—the capacity of the actors to act within the conditions of their action?
3. What is the relationship of the institutionalization of Finland’s public administration with institutional performance and institutional legitimation?
4. What radical institutional change has taken place in Finland’s public administration and how?

Each of the four sections of the conceptual framework bears the title of one of the four research questions and comprises an elaboration that finishes with the articulation of the research question articulated in a fuller form. The argument moves roughly from more general towards more specific questions: from micro-institutionalization to institutional agency, to processes and outcomes of institutionalization, and finally to radical institutional change.

The genealogy of the four research questions derives from neo-institutionalism as follows. In one of the two earliest articles of any neo-institutionalism whatsoever, Meyer and Rowan (1977) launched the line of research that the third research question represents. The other one of the two earliest articles of neo-institutionalism (Zucker 1977) set the path pursued with the first research question. The second research question derives from Meyer and Jepperson’s (2000) and Meyer’s (2008) account of ‘agency’, understood as the general capacity of actors to act within the conditions of their action. With the fourth research question the article joins more recent work pursued by

members of the indicated ‘visible college’ of neo-institutionalism, accentuating the mediating role of language of the rhetorical variety in radical institutional change (Meyer & Höllerer 2010).

The author does not imagine to offer an approach for analyzing the context of public administration for all practical purposes. The chapter aims only at demonstrating what its particular theoretical starting points may contribute. First, *theoretically* the chapter gears the analysis of institutional ‘environments’ (Meyer & Rowan 1977) towards the examination of ‘context’. Second, the chapter *methodologically* builds upon Jepperson and Meyer’s (2011) recent rehabilitation of what is known in social research as ‘contextual analysis’ (Iversen 1991). Third, acknowledging the *linguistic turn* of a rhetorical variety taken within the ‘visible college’ mentioned in examining radical institutional change (Meyer & Höllerer 2010), the chapter offers an elaboration supported by the political theorist Quentin Skinner’s (2009) approach, called in literature by the name ‘contextualism’ despite that Skinner himself does not use that name.

The conceptual framework

What is the micro-institutionalization of Finland’s public administration like?

The first research question drives the article to empirical analysis of the case of Finland with an approach to micro-institutionalization that is pronouncedly more general than the broad generic topic of public administration let alone its instantiation in Finland. ‘Sociological institutionalism’ taken in its entirety is much too broad an orientation to grow from any given micro-foundations. Even within the ‘visible college’ indicated, micro-foundations have been lacking, also as the early micro-institutional study by Zucker (1977) received little direct followership. However, the situation is changing, and more recently Powell and Colyvas (2008) have offered quite an elaboration of the institutional micro-foundations.

Powell and Colyvas (2008) find important roots for micro-institutional analysis in the view of Berger and Luckmann (1991 [1966], p. 72): ‘Institutionalization occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors’. Indeed, this formulation comprises nothing but the origin of the widespread view within sociological institutionalism on achieved ‘institutionalization’ being synonymous with ‘taken-for-grantedness’. Themes of micro-institutionalist research that this view accentuates can be summarized as follows:

1. The study of names, ‘nomenclatures’, vocabularies and systems of concepts (Guenther 2009) is relevant as without these actors could not orient themselves in respect to institutions in the first place. We find in public administration research a comparable early acknowledgment of the issue in Dunsire’s (1973) modern classic continuing to remind us that ‘administration’ is beyond all else a word embedded in language. In their turn Pollitt and Hupe (2011) have stressed how words in public administration may not function neatly as unequivocal labels of people, things and actions but may receive roles resembling primordial ‘magic’ calling for research of de-mystification.
2. The analysis of institutional classifications and categorizations (Negro, Koçak, & Hsu 2010) comprises another topic of micro-institutional analysis. Its relevance for public administration research is indicated by the complications in such institutionalized practices as official statistics, official registers, government budgeting, government accounting and government performance measurement (see, for instance, Vakkuri 2010).
3. Institutional boundary drawing comprises another topic of micro-institutional research (Zietsma & Lawrence 2010). Within public administration research respective analysis receives motivation, for instance, from the two conflicting tendencies of harmonizing public administration with business management on one hand, and on the other the possible public, political and social characteristics of all organizations and institutions (Bozeman 1987; Fisher & Grant 2012).

4. A fourth topic of micro-institutional analysis comprises the formation, maintenance and contestation of identities (see Gioia, Price, & Thomas 2010). Notably, public administration in society, the organizations of public administration and their corps of employees are certainly not devoid of identities—and therefore not of identity problems, either (see, for instance, Wæraas & Solbakk 2009).

Authors such as Schneiberg and Clemens (2006) have argued that fully achieved institutionalization may be difficult to examine for the very reason of its taken-for-grantedness for the institutional members and others concerned. Schneiberg and Clemens' views indicate a methodological bypass comprised of studying institutionalization with ambiguous nomenclatures, leaking institutional classifications, categorizations and boundaries, and incomplete institutional identities. Schneiberg and Clemens (2006, p. 214) also suggest the methodological 'use of "breaches", deviant events, or conflicts that reveal... undiscussed boundaries of taken-for-granted understanding'. For analyzing public administration both in the generic sense and in individual country cases this suggests, for instance, looking at hybrid forms of institutionalization (as opposed to those devised according to some institutional blueprint), incomplete coordination (as opposed to situations with an unyielding strategic grip of governments and public managers), and other institutional contradictions. The first research question can be articulated:

Research question 1: What is the micro-institutionalization of Finland's public administration like in respect to institutional nomenclature, institutional classifications and categorizations, institutional boundary-drawing and institutional identities?

How does Finland's public administration bear institutional 'agency'—the capacity of the actors to act within the conditions of their action?

The approach of this chapter to the general social science question of ‘agency’—the capacity of the actors to act within the conditions of their action—also derives from more general roots than those grounding the study of public administration only let alone any of its empirical instantiations in any singular country. The approach combines two lines of theoretical argument. The first of these accentuates that all agency entails irreducible contingency; where opportunities open up, actors may ignore them, and even where they acknowledge the opportunities, the actors may fail (Wang 2008). According to the second line of argument in the chapter’s approach to agency, actors grab what institutional elements of ‘agency’ they can come up with in order to gain at least partial and temporary control over the contingency of their action situations. Meyer (2008, p. 792) offers conceptual elements to elaborate the second line of argument in the following lines:

Actorhood... is scripted by institutional structures; and the relation between actor and action is no longer a simple causal one—both elements have institutional scripts behind them, and their relation has, causally speaking, strong elements of socially constructed tautology.

The notion of ‘agentic actorhood’ pinpoints the consideration of ‘agency’ as the capacity of actors to act as ‘agents’. To clarify what this involves, Meyer and Jepperson (2000, p. 117) offer a three-fold analytical division into ‘agency for itself’, ‘agency for others’ and ‘agency for cultural standards’, of which the last one they also call ‘agency for principle’. The division is analytic; the three types may mix in actual empirical institutional practice. Numerous studies have analyzed the advancing ‘agency for themselves’ borne by persons (such as the progressing emancipation of females and ethnic, sexual and other minorities), by public sector organizations (such as in ‘agentification’ amply analyzed in public administration research), both by these and by companies (‘corporatization’), and by entire peoples (compare the number of independent countries or their autonomous parts today with the number sixty-five to one hundred years ago, and observe also the nations and proto-nations struggling for autonomy or independence). The second type, ‘agency for

others', has been strengthened with the expansion of professions and specialist organizations, which assume functions earlier borne by individuals, families, other organizations and even nation states—such as psychotherapists, social workers and consultants, but also such institutions as the EU, the World Bank and Transparency International, for instance. (Meyer & Jepperson 2000; Kruecken & Meyer 2006; Meyer 2008; Drori, Meyer, & Hwang 2009.)

The two types of agency can be seen to comprise special cases of the third agency type, the 'agency for cultural standards' or the 'agency for principle'. Accordingly, some of the standards and principles of the third type offer normative characterizations of individual or collective actorhood (for instance, standards and principles for human rights or for the establishment of particular types of organizations) and actorhood for bearing agency for others (for instance, professional standards and standards of corporate governance or corporate social responsibility). In the third type of agency, the 'principals' of the agents do not comprise physically distinct actors but abstract standards or principles, among which Meyer and others have accentuated those of they call by the term 'scientization'—constituting an issue which will be considered below (Meyer & Jepperson 2000, p. 115; Meyer 2002; Drori & Meyer 2006; Drori, Meyer, & Hwang 2009.) The same authors characterize the 'cultural standards' or 'principles' lying 'littered around the landscape' (Meyer & Rowan 1977, p. 345) as 'standardized technologies of agentic authority', offering ample constituents for the institutionalization of agency. For example, the European countries shedding the Communist yoke found new institutional elements for their public administration systems readily available or were downright pressurized to adopting these, although the ultimate consequences were oftentimes mixed given the resilience of the institutional contexts those countries had inherited (see, for instance, Brier 2010).

We find 'agentic actorhood' and 'disinterested agency for cultural standards' progressing in public administration with empowered public managers, organizations created through 'agentification' (Pollitt, Talbot, Caulfield, & Smullen 2004; Van Thiel 2012) or 'corporatization', with contractors turning from aloof business partners into empowered members of 'public-private

partnerships’ (PPPs; Hodge & Greve 2010), but also with the democratic empowerment or re-empowerment of citizens, groups and communities (Skelcher & Torfing 2010). Last but not least, the ‘scientized agency’ taken up above may be enhanced in public administration with the strengthening of its tools and instruments and the sharpening of the political and ethical principles it represents (see Raadschelders 2008), and with the introduction or enhancement of academic Public Administration. The second research question can be spelled out in the following fuller form:

Research question 2: How does Finland’s public administration bear ‘agency’—the general capacity of actors to act within the conditions of their action—in the varieties of ‘agency for itself’, ‘agency for others’, and ‘agency for cultural standards and principles’?

What is the relationship of the institutionalization of Finland’s public administration with institutional performance and institutional legitimation?

The approach of this chapter to institutionalization also derives from more general roots than those of the study of public administration let alone public administration in any given country. From ‘old institutionalism’ neo-institutionalism inherited important accents upon institutional ‘environments’, geared in this chapter towards the analysis of ‘contexts’ (Meyer & Rowan 1977; cf. Perrow 1972, pp. 177–204). Meyer and Rowan (1977) in their early neo-institutionalist article stressed the study of what they called ‘institutional structures’ of two kinds: those present in each institution including each institutionalized organization and those present in the institutional ‘environment’.

Since 1977 neo-institutionalists have examined the diffusion of institutional structures from domestic, international and global environments or ‘contexts’ and the modification of the structures in target institutions including those of public administration. As Christensen (2012) perceptively argues, unacceptably naïve analysis would ensue, should it be assumed that structures from the

environment would be introduced in the target institutions without modifications or that the structures or their modifications would indeed take root almost whenever and wherever introduced.

Numerous studies indeed have been carried out on the domestic, international and global diffusion of institutional elements, their national or other modification and their sedimentation (Meyer & Jepperson 2000; Strang & Macy2001). Instead of studies on how *actual* empirical institutional elements would diffuse, we rather find research on the diffusion of *representations* of such elements, called by such names as ‘institutional models’, ‘institutional scripts’ and ‘institutional frames’. Strang and Soule (1998, p. 277) suggest:

(P)ractices do not flow: Theorized models and careful framings do. ... Not all practices can be theorized and framed, and none come out of the process unmodified.

Research has accumulated on how processes of institutionalization lead to the introduction of models, scripts and frames for new or revised institutional elements originating from institutional environments—here, ‘contexts’. According to that research, the diffusion and modification of the models, scripts and frames takes place in the very purpose of reducing ‘uncertainty’ as Meyer and Rowan (1977) called it, or ‘managing contingency’ as the author of this chapter is inclined to renaming it. Although uncertainty may be reduced by improving *performance*, many studies rather have been interested in analyzing the *legitimation* tried and possibly accomplished by the means of new or revised institutional elements. Ever since Meyer and Rowan’s (1977) article, in the case of legitimation the newly introduced institutional elements are seen to bear characteristics of ‘rationalized myths’ enacted in ‘ceremonial’ ways resembling their primordial counterparts studied by social anthropologists. In the capacity of ‘rationalized myths’ the elements do not add to rationality—such as calculable efficiency and effectiveness—but enhance *beliefs in rationality* whatever the actual case may be. Further refinements of analysis have taken into account the possibility that although institutionalization may *at first* support performance, it may *later* turn into

legitimation enhancement, and that many institutional elements may *simultaneously* enhance performance and function in the capacity of ‘rationalized myths’. For example, take a public administration operational accounting system, which may in some respects support the efficient allocation of resources but in others enhance legitimation with reference to its impressive comprehensive characteristics set up with sophisticated expertise and considerable investment costs—all these characteristics possibly sending out credible warrants of rationality. (Meyer & Rowan 1977; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983; Lee & Strang 2006; Drori, Meyer, & Hwang 2009; Meyer 2008; Vakkuri 2010; Schmitt 2011.)

Jepperson and Meyer (2011) have rehabilitated what in social research is generally known as ‘contextual analysis’ (see, for instance, Iversen, 1991). To use empirical multivariable analysis by way of illustration, contextual analysis simultaneously uses independent variables taken from a micro level (for instance, individuals, organizations or countries) and further independent variables from one or more levels of context (for instance, a group level, an industry level or the international, transnational or global level). The latter variables are called ‘contextual specifiers’ for relationships studied in the basic level of analysis. It may not be only a coincidence to find recent empirical studies of contextual analysis within institutionally oriented research on education (see, for instance, Doyle, McLendon & Hearn 2010), as the same scholarly background is shared by the authors of one of the two earliest articles of neo-institutionalism (Meyer and Rowan 1977). For public administration research, contextual analysis suggests two methodological directions of analysis. The former of these rejects studies that de-contextualize public administration by trying to explain its aspects—including its cause-effect relations studied in empirical quantitative analysis—with mere reference to the behavior or properties of its basic level actors, such as individuals, organizations or governments. The latter methodological direction expressly avoids de-contextualizing public administration research that would try to explain aspects of public administration with their global or other macro conditions only (for a relevant recent critique of the latter type of analysis see Christensen 2012). The recommended methodological type comprises

multi-level contextual analysis of public administration—by the way strongly accentuated in a foremost early work of public administration research published in Finland (Heiskanen 1967) although with unfortunately scant scholarly successorship.

Meyer and Rowan (1977) introduced the notion of ‘decoupling’ in the analysis of institutions, although actual sociological neo-institutionalism has rather focused upon ‘loose coupling’. Where the ‘loose coupling’ or ‘decoupling’ obtains between institutional elements enhancing performance and those enhancing legitimation, the latter stand out as ‘rationalized myths’ rendering protection to the performance-generating institutional core (Schriewer 2009; Hodge & Greve 2010). On the other hand, what is called ‘tight coupling’ has been seen as possibly damaging the sensitive institutional core elements (Sauder & Espeland 2009; Brunsson 2009; Drori, Meyer, & Hwang 2009). The analysis of ‘loose coupling’ also covers phenomena of ‘scientization’; while *procedures of scientific research* or some of their modifications may improve *performance* within mundane practices, the sheer *scientific appearance* of the procedures may contribute to institutional *legitimation*. To take an example, practices bearing the label ‘evidence-based’ may be introduced in public administration; whether or not these indeed improve performance they may nevertheless contribute to institutional legitimation. (Meyer 2000, 2002; Drori & Meyer 2006; Drori, Meyer, & Hwang 2009; Raadschelders 2008.) The third research question can be elaborated in its fuller form as follows:

Research question 3: In what respects does the institutionalization of Finland’s public administration enhance performance or on the contrary enact ‘rationalized myths’ of legitimation with ‘loose coupling’ to performance?

What radical institutional change has taken place in Finland’s public administration and how?

In this chapter the word ‘radical’ implies no connotations of the desirability or undesirability of radical institutional change, but it only refers to the etymology in the Latin word *radix*, ‘root’, and thus to changes dealing with metaphorical ‘roots’ rather than ‘branches’ and ‘leaves’ only. Note also the contextual characteristics of the rightful use of the attribute ‘radical’; what may deserve the attribute in a given location and period—such as within Finland’s public administration during the period 1980–2012 analyzed in this chapter—may not do so in some other context of space, place and time.

Some of the recent research on radical institutional change taking place with rhetorical mediation (see especially Meyer & Höllerer 2010 but also Maguire & Hardy 2009 and Ruebottom 2011) shares common roots hardly recognized earlier with recent work on political conceptual change. For the latter, we can refer to the *oeuvre* of the political theorist Quentin Skinner (2009; see also Skinner 2007) suitably referred to in literature with the attribute ‘contextualist’ despite that Skinner himself has not used that name. In his works Skinner has analyzed changes in leading ideas and concepts and in ‘theories’ which ground practices (the quotes indicating that we are characteristically not dealing with theories elaborated within institutionalized scientific research). Skinner has analyzed such changes with the acknowledgment of their context in situations of juxtaposition between protagonists and antagonists, from among whom the winners succeed in imposing their views and the respective solutions. Skinner had also accentuated the distinctly *moral* character of rhetorically mediated conceptual change in that winning concepts and ideas and the agents bearing these can be seen to receive more favorable value loadings whereas the loadings of the losing concepts and ideas and their bearers-agents turn towards the negative. Accentuating the linguistic mediating role of rhetoric Skinner (2009, p. 149) writes on this issue:

(I)nnovating ideologists... face a hard... rhetorical task... to legitimise questionable... social behaviour... to show that... favourable terms can... be applied to... questionable actions. If they

can bring off this rhetorical trick, they can... argue that the condemnatory descriptions...can be overridden... .

As bearers of ‘radical agency’, the innovating ideologists definitely should master what have been termed ‘time ploys’, ‘time tactics’ and the ‘struggle with time’ analyzed in their ways both by public administration scholars and political theory scholars (Pollitt 2008, p. 176; Palonen 2006). Because the actors act in contingent circumstances, despite their best efforts their virtuosity may be spent in vain (for a classical characterization see Machiavelli 1970, Ch. VI, p. 44). Public administration certainly comprises one and only one of the very many possible topics to analyze in lines of the ‘rhetorical turn’ taken in the neo-institutionalist research, also where enriched with elements of Skinner’s approach. Accordingly, the fourth and last research question can be articulated in its fuller form:

Research question 4: What radical institutional change has taken place in Finland’s public administration brought about by change-oriented actors successfully substituting their favored positive evaluative terms for what used to be questionable, and successfully introducing negative evaluative terms for what used to be accepted?

Methodology and country background

The methodology of the chapter comprises, first, writing administrative history on micro-institutionalization and institutional agency in Finland with *documentary analysis* of official and other public domain sources (cf. Pollitt 2008, p. 151). Second, the study of the processes and outcomes of institutionalization and radical institutional change in the chapter comprises *thematic analysis*, which has been seen as one of the subtypes of narrative analysis (Riessman 2008, pp. 53-76; cf. Pollitt 2008, pp. 151–153). A thematic classification of institutional elements of public

administration in Finland will be developed with a reliance on global public administration research (for the procedure, see the footnote to Table 4), the results of the micro-institutional and agency analyses in the chapter, and previous research published by Finland's scholars of public administration.

Rather than the actual number of themes of institutionalization that may appear, what the research methodology accentuates is the sufficient empirical *saturation* (see Bowen 2008) aimed at over phenomena of institutionalization within Finland's public administration. The author also sees the wide coverage of the institutional elements and themes as offering protection against the spurious selection of only a few elements and themes to accentuate the merits of a theoretical platform that the author might prefer. Neither neo-institutionalists nor others have by the way been quite innocent of such selectivity.

The comparatively small country of Finland with its 5.4 million inhabitants offers both institutional variety with interesting challenges to public administration research and homogeneity that facilitates the analysis. Table 1 provides some minimal international 'peer context' of countries reasonably resembling Finland, and Figure 1 offers an overview of the national 'internal context' of public administration and the related public sector in the same country.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Micro-institutionalization in Finland's public administration

Micro-institutional traditions and transformations

The author's efforts to analyze the micro-institutional details of Finland's public administration—nomenclatures, classifications, categorizations, boundaries and identities—turned out to deliver too little other than minutiae to deserve actual elaboration. Therefore the micro-institutional analysis was directed upon some of the larger building blocks of institutionalization.

A reasonably steady *methodological access* to studying the building blocks of micro-institutionalization in Finland's public administration is available by pinpointing imperfections and inconsistencies—although this is by no means to say that these characteristics would be in any worse shape than in many other highly developed countries. Despite three quarters of a century of definite efforts in Finland (Tiihonen 1985; 1990), strong strategic Government co-ordination between the functions of the Ministries continue to meet the constraints of multi-party government coalitions and the independence of the Ministers in their Ministries. The OECD (2010, pp. 141-143) deeply laments this.

Another micro-institutional characteristic—another imperfection—methodologically facilitating the analysis of Finland's public administration comprises prevalent hybrid forms of organization, definitely not unlike the situation in many other countries (see Christensen & Lægreid 2011a; see Table 2). The word 'hybrid' indicates here two things: first, the absence of a *single set* of standards and principles of institutionalization and organization, such as those of New Public Management or some type of 'post-NPM', and second, the co-presence of institutional elements conventionally connected with the public sector, the market sector and the non-profit private sector. For a numerical example of micro-institutional ambiguity in Finland, two sets of figures represent the public sector size and the size of public sector employment. One set gave Finland's public sector a GDP share of 38 per cent in 2010, but the social security funds had to be added—institutions governed by statutory branch companies of private insurance company groups—which took the official 2010 figure to 55 per cent (Johanson & Sorsa 2010). For another example, according to Finland's Ministry of Finance, in 2010 the state employed 3.5 and the local governments 17.7 per cent of the occupationally active population—but the less selective information offered by Statistics

Finland indicated the higher shares of 6.1 and 20.9 per cent, respectively. Moreover, not even the higher figures include government-owned companies, which employ another 4 per cent.

Diversity with further hybrid characteristics (Table 2; cf. Figure 1) includes Finland's 90 key and 140 lesser national government agencies, all identified by their conclusion of explicit result contracts with their supervisory ministries (see Salminen, Viinamäki, & Jokisuu 2012), local government agencies, public law associations, government-owned or government-controlled joint-stock companies, and thousands of organizations in the indirect public administration of more than twenty policy fields from governing reindeer herding and fisheries to governing Chartered Public Accountants and horse race gambling (MF 1999). What is more, a new hybrid form of institutionalization was introduced at Finland's 2010 modification of global institutional elements (Kruecken & Meyer 2006) with the result that all universities turned from national government agencies into public law bodies of two resembling types removed from the national government, its fiscal regime, and its civil service regime. In Finland's national central government hybrid institutional characteristics have been on the increase also as the independent agencies, formally abolished in a major reform by the year 1992, have been making a comeback since the 2009 establishment of the National Supervisory Authority for Welfare and Health and the National Police Board (Ahonen 2012a).

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Micro-institutional characteristics of Finland's public administration

In Finland, the monolith of *valtio* (the state), each *kunta* (translated either as 'local government' or 'municipality') and each *kuntayhtymä* (local government federation) indisputably comprises a single legal subject and an independent economic entity of its own (Table 2; cf. also Figure 1). However, notions with wider empirical reference abound with ultimate borrowing from global

institutional elements of multi-divisional corporations (Palmer, Jennings & Zhou 1993).

Valtioyhteisö or *valtiokonserni*, both compound words introduced in the Finnish language in the 1990s, have turned into established Finnish translations of the linguistic monstrosity made up of the globally spreading notion of ‘whole-of-government’ (Christensen & Lægreid 2007; OECD 2011; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2011, pp. 263–270). Both *valtioyhteisö* and *valtiokonserni* comprise both the *valtio* (the state) and a considerable number of institutions of their own legal personality but with state ownership or a state controlling interest (see Table 1; cf. Figure 1). As an important institutional complication, neither of the two Finnish equivalents to the ‘whole-of-government’ in the country’s central state bears any legal validity. Contrary to the normative ambiguity prevailing in the domain of the state, since 2007 the Local Government Act explicitly prescribes each *kuntakonserni*—‘whole-of-local-government’— to comprise the legal person and accounting entity of a local government or a local government federation on the one hand, and on the other the institutions that either entity owns or controls—importantly, about 2 100 joint-stock companies (cf. Figure 1).

As a key aspect of Finland’s governance, ever since Finland declared itself independent on 6 December 1917, each government has devised a *hallitusohjelma*, a government political program. The 1995–2011 governments set up also horizontal *politiikkaohjelmia* (policy programs), but this practice was discontinued by the government formed in 2011. The 2007–2011 government also devised an ambitious execution program for its *hallitusohjelma* under the name *strategia-asiakirja* (the comprehensive strategy document), but its successor did not continue this practice, either. These developments, modifying global institutional elements with their ultimate origins in strategic business planning elaborated with numerous important intercessions of the OECD (Alasuutari & Rasimus 2009), have also catalyzed other important developments (Kekkonen & Raunio 2011). These have greatly increased the number of aides to Finland’s ministers with special reference to the Prime Minister ever since the 1980s. The developments have also catalyzed the introduction of two new functions in the PM’s Office, namely the co-ordination of the country’s EU affairs and the

omistajaohjaus (ownership steering) of about thirty among the more than fifty leading government companies. Revealing another institutional complication, the other ministries continue to steer the remaining twenty companies.

Institutional agency in Finland's public administration

This chapter excludes analysis of the important issues of management, personnel and professionalism in Finland's public administration in order to retain a sharp focus upon the organizational aspects of institutionalization. Using the three-fold division of 'agency' of the conceptual framework, 'agency for itself' has made advances in Finland with greater autonomy for organizations in public administration and transfers of organizations from state administration and local government administration to the less regulated domains of the broader public sector. Further trends have accentuated the 'agency for others' of public administration organizations as agents of the state or local governments while carrying out explicit policy missions instead of only complying with procedural norms written in law. Newer 'disinterested agency for cultural standards and principles' has put emphasis upon the standards and principles conveyed by the 'three Es' of 'economy', 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness', but 'agency' of Finland's public administration has also been accentuated for standards and principles of gender and other types of equality and for the social rights of citizens to obtain the *peruspalvelut* (the 'basic services') for free or only for a nominal fee in such fields as primary health care, basic education, and the welfare of minors and the elderly.

Although in 1992 Finland abolished its earlier strong central national agencies situated under the ministries, in the years immediately preceding and the years soon to follow 'agentification' took important steps forward in other respects within the country's public administration. A milder form of this comprised the introduction of institutional elements of 'management for results' (items 1.1–

1.5 in Table 3) and another was made up of miscellaneous measures for improved efficiency (items 2–4) and for earmarking government funds for special purposes (item 5).

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

The diffusion of the model of Britain's public corporation in the 1980s to Finland and its modifications – or, rather, 'bastardizations' – for the purposes of the country's national government comprised nothing more than 'agentification' that left the state with the ultimate responsibility for the commitments of each corporation (Table 3, item 6.1). Accordingly, Finland's modification of the public corporation model re-institutionalized many of the country's national public enterprises into a shape that more resembled what in Britain have been called 'agencies'. However, one by one Finland's state turned most of the more than twenty public corporations set up since 1989 into joint-stock companies several of which were soon privatized, which can be seen as one indication of the insufficiency of the institutional model in its applications in Finland. By 2012 public corporations had almost vanished from Finland, especially after the European Commission verdict that the model violates EU competition law both while applied by the state and by the local governments.

Transformations stronger than mere 'agentification' but short of downright 'corporatization' took an important step forward in 2010 while Finland's universities were re-institutionalized according to two new tailored designs, notably removing all state responsibility for the possible financial failure of any of these (Table 3, items 7.4 and 7.5, cf. also items 7.1–7.3).

Full 'corporatization' is no novelty in Finland, either. It was first introduced as a fiscal crisis alleviation measure as early as the beginning of the 1930s (Table 3, items 8.1–8.4). Privatizations of national government and local government companies have taken place in Finland mostly in the pragmatic as opposed to the ideological mode (item 11). The fact that no nationalizations were ever carried out in the country is likely to have contained the political loadings of the privatizations. However, we can also notice measures in reverse of 'corporatization' (Table 3, items 9 and 10).

Processes and outcomes of institutionalization in Finland's public administration

Diffusion, modification and sedimentation of institutional models, scripts and frames

Table 4 presents the results of an effort at comprehensive analytic stocktaking on the institutional elements of Finland's public administration building upon the best available sources in 2012. As indicated in the methodology section above, the *number of the themes* while taking stock of the institutional elements is of pronouncedly lesser consequence than obtaining sufficient *saturation* of the data. The author argues that the latter end has been reasonably accomplished, although aware of the fact that a first analysis is likely to comprise characteristics of only a preliminary study of the issue.

Institutional elements diffused into Finland from elsewhere since the 19th century in the form of models, scripts and frames can be amply traced in the country's indirect public administration (Table 4, item 1), where self-governance of social actors and interests combines with institutional frameworks maintained by government legislation and government regulation (item 3). Newer regulation of a different genre characteristically concerns such fields as telecommunications, financial markets, medical drug safety and civil aviation, characteristically applying models, scripts and frames of regulatory economics. In Finland's elements some pronouncedly old institutional elements continue to be retained also elsewhere. Institutional models, scripts and frames originating from the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian empire (v. Bonsdorff, 1950, pp. 12-13) were among the key influences, while Finland tempered national conflicts with constitutional semi-independence for the Swedish-speaking Ahvenanmaa/Åland archipelago since 1920 and with constitutional protection for the linguistic rights of the Swedish-speakers in mainland Finland since 1922 (Table 4, item 4). These are arrangements that continue to be in place. Some of the institutional models, scripts and frames apparently connected with New Public Management (NPM) actually predate it in

Finland (items 4, 5, 8 and 10-12). It is also notable that together with the other Nordic countries Finland systematically pursued public administration transparency and openness (item 13) decades before its wider global popularity as an institutional element of public administration.

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

Explicit newer modifications of global models, scripts and frames of NPM abound in Finland (Table 4, the 1980s-1990s items 18-25, 27-28, 32, 34-36 and in some respects 30 and 41, the 2000s items 45, 47-51 and in some respects 15-17 and 26), but we also find newer post-NPM or other non-NPM elements (38-40 and in some respects also 26 and 31). What is more, some institutional elements transcend both NPM and other common denominators of public sector reform ideology because of their express political characteristics (items 2, 14 and 29 and in some respects 38 and 51) or the political features of some of their possible modifications (indicators, audit, evaluation and assessment criteria, futures studies, extended accounting, and CSR; (items 6, 11, 16, 33, 46, 47, and 51). We may also detect modifications of what can be termed global 'meta' models, scripts and frames for 'scientizing' public administration, including Finland's institutionalization of twelve academic disciplines offering Master's and Doctoral degrees in fields corresponding with global academic Public Administration (item 7; see Ahonen 2012b). With reference to Table 4, further observations can be summarized as follows:

1. PPB has dissipated and Finland's 'bastard' model of the public corporation is also doing so (items 8 and 15).
2. Modifications of certain institutional models, scripts and frames have sedimented into institutional layers while new elements have accumulated atop the older ones (items 1-7 and 10-13).

3. Some models, scripts and frames have failed to take solid root (items 30, 31 and 41, ABB/ABC, trust and BSC) or to institutionalize into a unitary shape (14, 17 and 37, citizen empowerment, quality management and eGovernance, and 32, 47 and 51, vouchers, extended accounting, and CSR).
4. Public productivity policies (item 9) has continued to reappear but without solid institutionalization according to any specific institutional model, script or frame.
5. Modifications of certain institutional models, scripts and frames continue to be contested in public discourse and debate for their actual or imaginary irrelevance, lacking fairness, or ambiguity (items 5, 36, 40, and 51-54, accrual accounting, benefits of government company managers, league tables etc., PPPs, CSR in public administration, analytical cost accounting, and fiscal sustainability).
6. On the contrary, a good many models, scripts and frames have accomplished solid institutionalization (the 1960s-1980s items 11-13, 19 and 21, the 1990s items 24-25, 27-29, 33-35, 39 and 42-46, and the 2000s items 48 and 49).

Loose coupling versus tight coupling between performance and legitimation

Pollitt (2002) considers ‘talk’, ‘decisions’, ‘practice’ and ‘results’ as aspects of public administration. The question of ‘justification by works or faith’ (Pollitt 1995) in public administration can be answered with acknowledgement of the possible ‘loose coupling’ between the performance-generating institutional core and the legitimating institutional elements bearing characteristics of ‘rationalized myths’ (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In the final end, we may not be able to give ultimate answers to the question on the ‘works versus faith’, as even chronically failing institutions may persist if they retain their legitimation (Meyer & Zucker 1989).

Using Pollitt’s terminology, a good number of the global models, scripts and frames modified in Finland’s public administration represent loose coupling, with a ‘talk’ emphasis (Table 4, the

1960s-1980s items 6, 7, 14 and 16 of social indicators, the ‘scientization’ of public administration of the academic variety, empowerment, and much of the evaluation, and the 1990s and the 2000s items 26, 39, 40, 46 and 51 of audits, corporate governance, league tables etc., futures studies and CSR). No less than in the public administration terminology of the English language (Pollitt & Hupe 2011), where the Finnish language has been able to develop translations for global keywords—such as ‘governance’, ‘networks’, ‘management’ including New Public Management, ‘evaluation’, ‘accountability’ or ‘empowerment’—these have frequently borne characteristics of floating or downright emptiness of meaning. However, in the case of Finland somewhat more items than in the loose coupling pole represent the tighter, performance-oriented pole with a ‘practice’ emphasis in terms of Pollitt’s (2002) four-fold division (Table 4, the 1930s-1980s items 5, 8, 10, 12 and 19-21, the 1990s items 24, 25, 27, 33 and 43, and the 2000s items 50, 53, and 54, all in Table 4, and many of the newer ones with NPM characteristics).

Radical institutional change in Finland’s public administration analyzed as conceptual, institutional and contextual change

Hyvärinen, Kurumäki, Palonen and Stenius’s (2003) conceptual history of Finland’s political culture offers guidance for tracing radical institutional changes in the country’s public administration; some of these changes possibly also contextualize other and further changes. One change to note took place in the first half of the 1990s. With the catalysis of global institutional models, scripts and frames (cf. Laratta 2010; see also Kettunen & Petersen 2010) diffused to Finland and modified in the country, *yhteiskunta*—‘society’—displaced *valtio*—the ‘state’—in the dominant political jargon of the Finnish language and no less importantly, among the derivative concepts, *hyvinvointiyhteiskunta*—the ‘welfare society’—displaced *hyvinvointivaltio*—the ‘welfare state’. Numerous institutional items of Finland’s public administration can be situated within the semantic field organized around the words ‘society’ and ‘welfare society’ (Table 4, items 38, 39,

44, 47, and 52, and in some respects 3, 17, 18, 26, 31, 40, and 44). The turning of evaluative terms related to ‘society’ into more favorable expressions decreased the relative favor of terms situated within the semantic field of the word ‘state’, including ‘public administration’ and the ‘public sector’, closely identified with ‘state’ as they were. The transformation was mediated by no lesser bearers of institutional ‘agency’ for the newly evolving ‘cultural standards’ than the three largest political parties from Conservatives in the right, the Social Democrats of the moderate left and the Center in between, none of them wanting to remain ‘state-lovers’ and therefore turning into declared ‘society-likers’.

In the early 1990s another radical contextual institutional change took place in Finland’s public administration and the country’s wider public sector. No less catalyzed by global models, scripts and frames (cf. Pollitt & Bouckaert 2011) than the change from a ‘state’ towards a ‘society’ emphasis, *johtaminen*—signifying both ‘management’ and ‘leadership’ in the Finnish language—displaced *hallinto*—‘administration’. This is indicated by several institutional items (Table 4, items 19, 24–25, 27, 34, 36, 39, 42 and 45) (Hyvärinen, Kurunmäki, Palonen, & Stenius 2003). The two co-equal translations of ‘public administration’ into Finnish —*julkinen hallinto* and *julkishallinto*—became somewhat rarer than they had been although they by no means vanished. However, although the Finnish language does offer two equivalent expressions to ‘public management’—*julkinen johtaminen* and *julkisjohtaminen*—neither of these actually displaced the language’s equivalents to ‘public administration’. What did become increasingly prevalent was the brief generic word *johtaminen*—as indicated above, signifying both ‘management’ and ‘leadership’ although most often referring to the former in actual Finnish usage.

Radical institutional change has also touched the equivalents of the Finnish language to academic Public Administration (Table 4, item 7). In 1994 the Ministry of Education enforced new legislation eradicating *julkishallinto* (literally, Public Administration), established in 1965 and turning out Master’s and Doctoral degrees in Finnish at three universities. The Ministry decreed a new discipline, *hallintotiede* (Administrative Science), at the same universities, leaving the literal

equivalent to Public Administration only at one university, where it continues to be rendered in the Swedish language as *offentlig förvaltning*. The proponents of the transformation have confirmed to the author of this chapter that the establishment of Administrative Science aimed at extending ‘scientization’ not only over public administration but also business and private non-profit organization and management. However, the representatives of Organization and Management in Finland’s business schools and Faculties of Business absolutely declined to accept the dominance of the new disciplinary entrant. We can situate a turning point in 2009–2010, when an effort to extend Administrative Science to a fourth university first failed (Virtanen 2010) and next, Administrative Science was replaced with *julkisjohtaminen*—literally, ‘Public Management’—at one of the three Finnish-speaking universities concerned, leaving Administrative Science only at two universities (see Ahonen 2012b). The attribute ‘public’ (see Pesch 2012) thus made a comeback, but now connected with the popular ‘management’ as opposed to the less favored ‘administration’.

Summary, interpretations, and conclusions

Summary and extensions

In the chapter the author has sought answers to four research questions. The first called for probing the micro-institutionalization of Finland’s public administration. The author directed the analysis towards larger than very elementary micro-institutional building blocks. According to the findings, the coordination within Finland’s Government and between the Ministers and the Ministries remains chronically looser than the Government would prefer. Hardly different from many other countries, Finland’s public administration is an institutional hybrid of smaller-scale hybrids that comprise specific types of institutionalization and organization. The analysis also pinpointed imprecise institutional boundaries, which also aggravate difficulties in distinguishing contexts from what they contextualize. For instance, this concerns Finland’s public administration and the

country's wider public sector versus the overall society regarded in GDP terms and in terms of employee numbers, and it also concerns the constituents of *valtiotyhteisö* ('whole-of-government', with the state as the host entity), the differentiated branches of the wider public administration, and the overall public sector vis-à-vis other 'sectors' of society (Table 1; Figure 1; Table 2).

The second research question concerned Finland's public administration from the viewpoint of 'agency'—the capacity of actors to act within the conditions of their action. For reasons explained in the text, the chapter excluded the important issues of 'agency' related to managers, personnel and professionals and concentrated on 'agentification' (understood in a broad sense) and other organizational measures of institutionalization. The results indicate that far-reaching measures accentuating 'agency' characteristically have a long history in Finland, and the novelties have mostly comprised fine tuning (items 1.1–1.5, 4 and 7.4 in Table 2) or turned out to be rather short-lived (items 6.1 and 8.4). The results also indicate that in Finland 'agentification' and comparable measures comprise no one-way streets, but transformations in the reverse direction may also take place (see item 9 of Table 2).

The third research question led to an examination of performance and legitimation in the institutionalization of Finland's public administration. The results suggest that Finland has by no means turned into a 'puppet' subject to the global, transnational and international contexts of institutionalization and influences emanating from these. The examination condensed the institutional elements of Finland's public administration into fifty-four themes. The exact number of these was not of importance but, instead, reaching a reasonable empirical saturation in the analysis (see Bowen 2008). The results pinpoint that national institutional contexts of public administration may either admit, absorb, resist or reject what diffuses from elsewhere. Indeed, some of the institutional elements globally diffused into Finland either have failed to take solid root, assume a unitary shape, or attain solid institutionalization even if they may have been remarkably modified in the country. However, the results also indicate numerous institutional elements diffused to Finland, modified there, attained a solid shape and ultimately, perhaps, sedimented. The examination of

‘loose coupling’ versus ‘tight coupling’ of institutional elements added details to the picture rather than suggested different conclusions from those above. Instead of indicating that many an institutional element would *necessarily* enhance performance, legitimation or some combination of these, the findings of the article must be seen to hang *contingently* on how the things actually turn out to be in the case in hand at a certain point of time or during a certain period.

The final research question required an examination of radical institutional change in Finland’s public administration. Empirically, the analysis focused upon three conceptual, institutional and contextual changes. One of these substituted ‘society’ including the ‘welfare society’ for the ‘state’ including the ‘welfare state’, the other replaced ‘administration’ including ‘public administration’ with ‘management’ including ‘public management’, and the third eradicated the equivalent of the global academic Public Administration from the Finnish language and replaced it with Administrative Science—with mixed consequences, as the analysis suggests.

Conclusions on the analysis of context

At the beginning of the chapter the author committed to examining the context of public administration by way of three lines of analysis in order to demonstrate the possible performance of the theoretical and methodological perspective applied. The first, *theoretical* one of these comprised elaborating the notion of institutional ‘environment’ (Meyer and Rowan 1977). Quite a number of contexts could be outlined, from micro contexts of institutional nomenclatures, classifications, categorizations, boundaries and identities up to macro ‘international’, ‘transnational’ and ‘global’ contexts. While concluding the chapter it is more relevant to take a different direction than attempting a typology of contexts. Therefore let us ask how to ascertain the utilization of any typology of contexts with an accompanying characterization of each context type for examining how models, scripts and frames for institutional elements diffuse from the relevant contexts in the actual empirical case in hand, how the models, scripts and frames may be modified in their actual

applications, and with what ultimate consequences for actual institutionalization this happens. We must expect that in the processes of diffusion, modification and institutionalization some contexts may be bypassed either by design or by default, such as where institutional elements diffuse straight from the global context to a national public administration or, on the contrary, solidly achieved national or sub-national micro-institutionalization neutralizes or ‘bastardizes’ institutional models, scripts and frames originating from the global, transnational or international context.

The author also committed to elaborating further a certain rehabilitation of the social research *methodology* of ‘contextual analysis’ (Jepperson & Meyer 2011) for the study of public administration. The *technically* smoothest way to do this would have been a multi-level multivariable time-series analysis starting with the diffusion of innovations from the global or other ‘macro’ context and continuing with the analysis of the national or other more ‘micro’ modifications of those innovations, but this was not the strategy to pursue in the chapter. However, contextual analysis also suggests more general *methodological standards and principles* for research expressly rejecting de-contextualization. Such research must contextualize its conclusions on any given aggregate level with specifiers taken from one or more contextual aggregate levels, instead of prioritizing either ‘micro’ or ‘macro’ explanations.

Finally, the author joined recent research on radical institutional change that has taken a ‘linguistic turn’ of a rhetorical variety (see Meyer and Höllerer 2010) with the supplementation of elements taken from Quentin Skinner’s (2009) approach called in literature as ‘contextualism’, although Skinner himself has not used that term. In order to provide a clear illustration of the resulting perspective let us consider only two actors and see the relevant ‘context’ as comprising an arena of struggle between these. Both parties are thrown into contingent action situations in which the acts, aims and opinions of their antagonist comprise the contingent events with which the protagonist has to deal. Both parties are forced to try their best to enforce their favored ideas and concepts, the ‘theories’ they offer for the guidance of practices, the evaluation criteria to which they subscribe and their favored lines of action against the express intentions, opinions and efforts of

their opponent. In the ensuing ‘game of chance’ both parties have chances of winning irrespective of the ultimate value of the platform they represent. The ‘contextualist’ analysis offered in the chapter was about public administration in Finland in its conceptual, institutional and contextual changes from emphases upon the ‘state’ including the ‘welfare state’ towards emphases upon ‘society’ including the ‘welfare society’, from emphases upon ‘administration’ towards those upon ‘management’, and from emphases upon academic Public Administration towards those upon generic Administrative Science. Notably, Skinner’s ‘contextualism’ does not presuppose that all changes be irreversible and, indeed, the analysis included a contingent case with a return of the ‘public’ while Finland’s academic discipline of Administrative Science introduced in 1994 turned into Public Management at one university in 2010. Why should one rule out the possible comeback of the context called the ‘welfare state’ for public administration in Finland, either, or, what is more, the return of its ‘scientized’ counterpart made up of the global intellectual field known as Public Administration?

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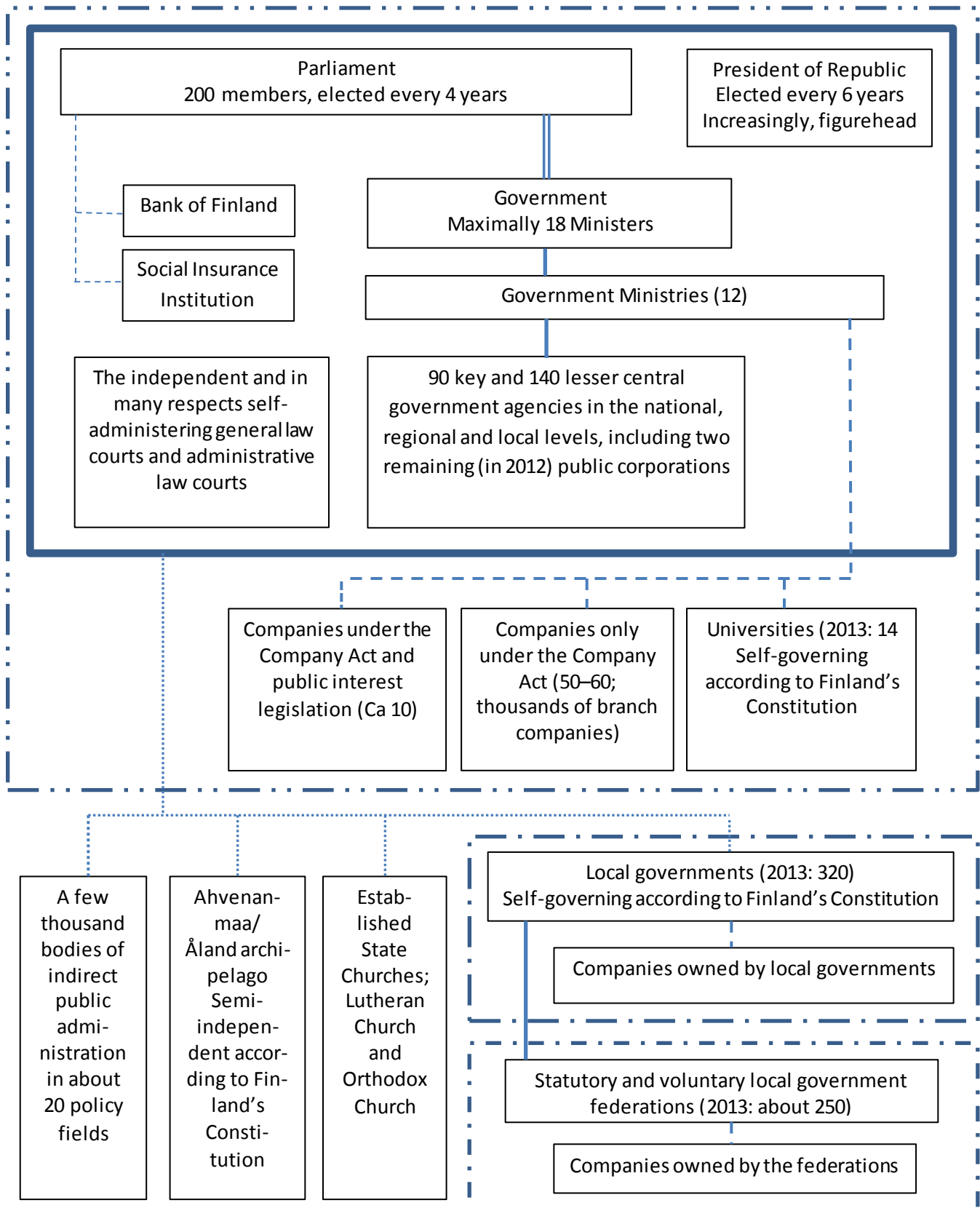


Figure 1. Outline of public administration and the public sector in Finland.

Explanations: Lines between boxes, double, parliamentary authority, unbroken, other decision-making authority, dashed, special supervision, points, legal or other framework steering and guidance. Lines around boxes, thick unbroken, the single legal person of 'state', line and two dots, the 'whole-of-government' of the state (for explanation see the section on micro-institutionalization), line and dot, two types of 'wholes-of-local government' (see text in the same section). – The figure omits the part of the public sector made up of companies managing the statutory private sector pension funds, making about 17 per cent of Finland's GDP.

Table 1. Aspects of the international peer country context of Finland's public administration

Finland (with time of introduction)	Resembling	Different from	Very unlike
I Political system characteristics			
Proportional electoral system (1907) with multi-party cabinets	SE, NO, DK, BG, NL	Centripetal proportional electoral systems, DE, FR, NZ	First-past-the-post systems, UK, USA
Figurehead president (1980s)	Most other republics in the EU	Figurehead monarchies	Semi-presidentialism, FR, USA
Prime Minister as top political leader	Most other EU countries	Semi-presidential systems, FR	No Prime Minister, USA
Small-size cabinet (1917)	SE, NO, DK	Large cabinet systems, UK, FR	Cabinet advisor to President, USA
II Background and general characteristics of public administration			
Written law tradition (N.A.)	DE, SE, NO, DK	In certain respects, USA	Common law tradition, UK
'Position' system civil service (1917)	SE, NO, DK, NL	Large political top executive, USA	'Career' system civil service, FR
Few ministries (1809/1917)	SE, DE	N.A.	Numerous departments, FR
Numerous departments (2014 or later)	FR	N.A.	Few ministries, SE, DE
No strong agencies below ministries (1992-2009)	N.A.	N.A.	Many strong agencies below ministries, SE
Few strong agencies below ministries (2009)	N.A.	Many strong agencies below ministries, SE	N.A.
Officially bilingual central public administration (1919/1922)	N.A.	Certain official minority linguistic rights, SE, NO, DK	Officially monolingual multilingual countries
III Organization of public administration under the federal or national central level			
No government provinces (2010)	Some small EU member states	N.A.	SE, NO, DK, NL
No regional self-governments in all or almost all of the country (1917)	Some smallest EU member states	Self-government with direct electoral mandate, SE, NO, DK	EU member states comprising parts with strong autonomy
Strong but weakened or weakening local self-government (2011/2017)	Since reforms of 2007, DK	Local government turned comparatively weak, UK	Strong local self-government with few weakening reforms, NO
IV Selected political and socio-economic characteristics			
Never a single-party dominance (1917)	N.A.	SE, NO, DK, with longer periods of Social Democratic dominance	First-past-the-post systems, UK, occasionally USA
Universal but lean welfare state/welfare society (N.A.)	Other efficiency-oriented welfare states/societies, UK, NL	Comprehensive universal welfare states, SE, NO, DK	Welfare societies with benefits to the 'deserving poor', USA

Explanations: Data from various public domain sources except for Ahonen, Hyyryläinen and Salminen (2006) for the last item in the table.

Abbreviations, 'SE', Sweden, 'NO', Norway, 'DK', Denmark, 'DE', Germany, 'FR', France, 'BG', Belgium, 'NL', Netherlands, 'UK', United Kingdom, 'USA', United States, 'NZ', New Zealand, N.A., 'not applicable' or 'not available'.

Table 2. Institutionalization within Finland's public administration and the related public sector

Institutional category	Units	Funding	Legal persons
1 <i>Valtiosyhteisö</i> ('whole-of-government')	1	Varia	No
1.1 <i>Valtio</i> ('state')	1	Varia	Yes
1.1.1 Parliament	1	State budget	No
1.1.2 State Audit Office	1	State budget	No
1.1.3 Ministries	12	State budget	No
1.1.4 Agencies and comparable	230	State budget, fees	No
1.1.5 Extra-budgetary national government funds	20	Fees, state budget, EU funds	No
1.1.6 National government public corporations	2	Business revenue	No
1.2 Other constituents of <i>valtiosyhteisö</i>	100	Varia	Varies
1.2.1 Social Insurance Institution	1	Social security contributions	Yes
1.2.2 Bank of Finland	1	Financial transaction revenue	Yes
1.2.3 Universities (two subtypes of institutionalization)	14 (2013)	Mostly, general or earmarked state grants	Yes
1.2.4 Public law associations	A few	Business revenue, fees	Yes
1.2.5 Companies (with public interest legislation)	A few	Market or monopoly prices, fees, taxes	Yes
1.2.6 Companies (only under the Company Act)	50	Sales revenue	Yes
2 The semi-independent Åland archipelago	1	Taxes, Finland's state budget	Yes
3 Local governments in Åland	16	Taxes, state grants, fees	Yes
4 <i>Kuntakonsernit</i> ('wholes-of-local-government')	300	Varia	No
4.1 Local governments of mainland Finland	320	Local income tax, state grants, fees	Yes
4.2 Public corporations and comparable	Hundreds	Sales revenue, fees	No
4.3 Companies (under the Company Act)	2 100	Sales revenue	Yes
5 <i>Kuntayhtymäkonsernit</i> ('wholes-of-local-government-federations')	200	Varia	No
5.1 Local government federations	250	Member local governments, state grants	Yes
5.2 Public corporations and comparable	N.A.	Sales revenue	No
5.3 Companies (under the Company Act)	Included in 3.1.3	Sales revenue	Yes
6 Indirect public administration	Thousands	Fees, state grants	Yes

Explanations: The sources comprise legislation, institutional websites and other public domain sources. Note the inclusion of some more institutional detail than in Figure 1. Some of the unit numbers have been rounded.

Table 3. Agentification and comparable institutionalization in Finland

Institutionalization in an order from milder to stronger forms	Since when	Comments
1 Result contracting making part of management for results		-
1.1 Agencies with government ministries	Early 1990s	In each of 1.1–1.4,
1.2 Agencies with their local government	Early 1990s	only quasi-contracting
1.3 National and local government agencies with agency management,	Early 1990s	no law court will
1.4 National and local government employees with their managers	Early 1990s	enforce
1.5 National and local governments with their managers	Early 1990s	With possible legal enforcement
2 Adjustment of national and local government fees towards cost coverage	1980s	-
3 National and local government budgeting in net as opposed to gross terms	1930s	Remarkably extended since the 1990s
4 Accrual accounting throughout the national and local government	1990s	-
5 Extra-budgetary national and local governments funds	1800s	E.g., pensions, EU policies, public enterprises
6 Public corporations (ultimate fiscal responsibility rests with the government)		-
6.1 Britain's public corporation modified in Finland's national government	Mid-1980s	Being abandoned
6.2 Public corporations in Finland's local governments	Late 1990s	Competitive corporations into companies by 2013
7 Entities with unique organization forms (removed from government fiscal responsibility)		All of 7.1-7.6 with individually tailored designs
7.1 Bank of Finland	1811	-
7.2 Social Insurance Institution	1938	-
7.3 Slot Machine Association	1938	Institutionalized as association under public law
7.4 Universities (the common type)	2010	2010–2012, 14, since, 12, special bodies of public law
7.5 Universities (the fund type)	2010	Two of the universities, foundations under public law
7.6 Indirect public administration	1800s	Associations under public law, other institutional forms
8 Institutionalized with corporatization (government responsibility limited to equity)		-
8.1 Government acquisition of stock majority, public interest legislation	1930s	Example: Finnish Broadcasting Company
8.2 Functions newly established in company form, public interest legislation	1930s	Example: Alcohol company Alko
8.3 Agencies turned into companies with government stock majority	1930s	Continues to take place frequently
8.4 Public corporations turned into companies with government majority	1990s	Almost all previous public corporations
9 National or local government interests in private companies	1920s	-
10 Replacing government fee funding with an earmarked tax	2012	New tax for funding the Finnish Broadcasting Company
11 Privatization of national government or local government companies	..	Pragmatically pursued at least since the 1950s

Explanations: The sources comprise legislation, institutional websites and other public domain sources.

Table 4. Institutional elements within Finland's public administration and the related public sector

I Models , scripts, frames for	II Since when	III Comments	IV Pre- sence in literature	V References
1 Indirect public administration	1800s	For economic or social interests within legal and regulatory constraints	Yes	Table 1
2 Linguistic equality in public administration	1920s	-	No	Legislation
3 Regulatory agencies	1920s	Older related to item 1, newer since the 1980s	Yes	Legislation
4 Corporatization of agencies	1930s	-	Yes	Table 1
5 Accrual accounting in public administration	1930s	More since the 1990s, but without unified principles in local government; applicability to public administration questioned by accounting scholars	Yes	Table 3; Vinnari & Näsi 2008
6 Social indicators	1960s	Routinized within statistical systems	No	Government guidelines
7 Academic 'scientization'	1960s	Twelve disciplines of Public Administration offering Master's and Doctoral degrees	No	Ahonen 2012
8 Planning-programming-budgeting (PPB)	1960s	Rejected in the early 1990s, elements remain	Yes	Tiihonen and Tiihonen 1990
9 Productivity policies	1970s	-	Yes	SAO 2010a
10 Cost accounting in public administration	1970s	Frequently limited or no comparability between different cost accounting practices	Yes/No	Government guidelines
11 Efficiency and effectiveness auditing	1970s	Increasingly systematic, boosted in the 2000s	Yes	SAO 2010b
12 Public fees to cover some or all of the costs or more	1980s	Key basic services exempted or low-fee	No	Legislation
13 Transparency and openness	1980s	A Nordic tradition (Erkkilä 2012), no more recent novelty	Yes/No	Legislation
14 Empowerment of citizens vis-à-vis public administration	1980s	Prevalent in 'word', less in 'deed'	Yes	MJ 2007
15 The public corporation	1980s	-	Yes	Table 1
16 Policy and program evaluation	1980s	Breakthrough in the 1990s	Yes	Research studies
17 Quality management and standardization (ISO, EFQM, etc.)	1980s	Widespread but not systematic	Yes	Government websites

18 Privatization (government companies, schools, health, etc.)	1980s	Frequent but extreme proposals of 1987–1991 not implemented (Ranki, 2000)	Yes	Meklin and Ahonen 1998
19 Management for results (MfR)	1980s	Routinized	Yes	Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011
20 Homogenization of public and private sector employment	1980s	Common but civil servants abound	Yes	Legislation
21 Binding Ministry of Finance budget frames for the ministries	1980s	Routinized	Yes	Government guidelines
22 Efficiency reforms of taxes, tax expenditures and grants	1990s	After a reform wave, one-shot policies	Yes/no	Various research studies
23 Cutbacks	1990s	Common, in waves	Yes	Johanson and Mattila 1994
24 Result units, national government, local governments	1990s	Routinized	Yes	Cf. item 19
25 Result contracting	1990s	Routinized	Yes	Cf. item 19 and Table 3
26 Audits of quality or compliance with standards (cf. item 17)	1990s	Audits of service systems, educational institutions, etc.	Yes	Government websites
27 Substitution of managerialism for collegial decision-making	1990s	Frequently criticized but constantly expanding	Yes	Legislation, guidelines, intra-organizational orders
28 Transfer pricing	1990s	Ample in government real estate management	No	Government guidelines
29 Gender equality policies in public administration	1990s	Extended towards equality of sexual preference and towards diversity management	No	Legislation
30 Activity-based budgeting and costing (ABB/ABC)	1990s	First enthusiastic projects, later waning	Yes	Tammi 2007
31 Enhancement of trust	1990s	Initial enthusiasm, few enthusiasts left	Yes	Government websites
32 Vouchers and other user choice mechanisms	1990s	Mostly, local government; many applications, limited volume; widely criticized	Yes	Websites, research studies
33 Pay-for-performance (PfP/P4P) and related items.	1990s	Widely applied, but criticized either for not actually applying and for misuse	Yes	Legislation, government guidelines
34 Ample management compensation in public administration	1990s	Institutionalized, opacity criticized, efficiency questioned from the incentive point of view	Yes	Government guidelines
35 Market-type mechanisms (MTMs), e.g., purchaser-power splits, outsourcing, contracting out, quasi-markets, competitive tendering, cf. item 32	1990s	In some respects pursued before the 1990s; since widespread but debated	Yes	Legislation, government guidelines, research studies
36 Stock options, retention bonuses,	1990s	Widely applied, heavily criticized in media	No	Government guidelines,

severance payments, extraordinary pensions, etc., of government company managers		and by all political parties from left to right— but widely applied nevertheless		government company policies
37 eGovernment, eGovernance	1990s	Several policy waves, Finland a laggard (OECD, 2010, pp. 33–34); in the 2010s, new policies correcting gross failures in ICT systems and their procurement practices	Yes	Policy documents
38 Good governance	1990s	Notion and content diffuse; cf. also item 39	Yes	Policy documents
39 Corporate governance (CG) within public administration and government companies	1990s	Both versions widespread but not systematic	No	Legislation, government guidelines
40 Global league tables, rankings, indices, comparative performance studies (e.g., OECD/PISA)	1990s	Frequently criticized but widely applied, e.g., education, anti-corruption and fiscal, environmental and other sustainability	Yes	Government and other websites
41 Balanced scorecard (BSC)	1990s	First many applications, later waning	Yes	Government websites
42 Strategic planning in public administration and vicinity	1990s	Numerous applications, implementation criticized (see, e.g., OECD, 2010)	Yes	Government websites
43 Stronger and more detailed input controls	1990s	Have continued to expand substantially	Yes/No	Government guidelines
44 Impact assessment	1990s	Environmental (EIA), social (SIA), regulatory (RIA), technological (TA), and related to scholarly publication at universities	No	Legislation, government guidelines
45 ‘Whole-of-government’ applications	1990s	-	Yes	Kekkonen and Raunio 2011, see also Table 1
46 Futures studies	1990s	Institutionalized in Parliament	No	Legislation
47 Social, personnel, environmental and other extended accounting	1990s	Common in public administration, without unity	No	Government websites, research studies
48 Turning government activities into programs and their ‘projectification’	1990s	Pursued earlier, remarkably expanded since the 1990s	No	Sjöblom 2007
49 Mergers and closures of government units and local governments	2000s	Supported with ‘rationalized myths’ of ever further economies of scale to win	Yes	Extensive but scattered official documentation
50 Controllershship function	2000s	In Finland national central government institutionalized in Ministry of Finance	No	Legislation
51 Public-private partnerships (PPPs)	2000s	Many measures predate the term; frequently	Yes	Websites, research studies

52 Corporate social responsibility (CSR) in public administration	2000s	criticized and in actual practice ambiguous Widespread but far from systematic	Yes	Organization-level guidelines
53 Analytical cost accounting ('total costing', 'full costing')	2000s	In government research funding, for instance; criticized for double counting and 'red tape'	No	Government guidelines
54 Fiscal sustainability	2000s	Expenditure exceeding revenue used to le- gitimize cutbacks	No	Government guidelines and reports

Explanations: The sources comprise legislation, institutional websites, other public domain sources and published academic research. Column IV indicates the presence of the themes in the index of at least one of the following books: Peters & Pierre 2003; Ferlie, Lynn & Pollitt 2005; Christensen & Lægreid 2011; Pollitt & Bouckaert 2011; Flynn 2012.